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New quarrels may be started. The political situation is tense. The only goal worth while just now is confidence.

It is a strange melange, Genoa. Mr. Churchill's speech at Northampton is called by the *London Times* "a complete reversal of the attitude which Great Britain has hitherto adopted toward Bolshevism." The Soviets may become partners in the economic reconstruction of Europe. The vote of confidence in Lloyd-George would seem to warrant his approaches to Tchitcherin. It certainly is an interesting political picture—British ministers, representatives of all Europe, in fact, sitting around the table with Bolshevik Terrorists; the Rumanian Diamandy, formerly prisoner of the Bolsheviki, sitting opposite Tchitcherin of the Soviet delegates; Adolph Joffe and the German Chancellor, Rakovsky and Bratiano, Lloyd-George and Maxim Litvinoff, all actively cultivating each other, for the moment at least, with smiling camaraderie.

Business at Genoa has begun. Lloyd-George delivered the opening address. The greatest of all gatherings of European nations is under way. The 1,056 delegates are applying their minds to restoring the shattered prosperity of Europe. Their program is based upon principles agreed to at Cannes. These principles, briefly summarized by the British Prime Minister, are: "First, when a country enters into contractual obligations with another country or its nationals for value received, that contract cannot be repudiated whenever the country changes its government, without returning value. The second is that no country can wage war on the institutions of another. The third is that one nation shall not engage in aggressive operation against the territory of another. The fourth is that the nationals of one country shall be entitled to impartial justice in the courts of another." These were the conditions laid down at Cannes. They were incorporated in the invitation to the Genoa Conference. They are avowed as the basis of the work at Genoa. Lloyd-George is right: "If any people reject these elementary conditions of civilized intercourse between nations, they cannot be expected to be received into the comity of nations."

From the limited reports at hand it is impossible to get the Genoa picture clearly before us. But the logic of the situation leads all right-thinking men to hope that the delegates are aware of the one outstanding European need, namely, peace. The questions of exchange, credits, and transportation will be discussed to the advantage of Europe. But, judging from past conferences in general and from the Washington Conference in particular, the most important outcome of the work in Genoa will be measured in terms of finer feeling and of a more generous neighborliness. Hunger alone demands this friendlier attitude. The snarling and the biting

does nothing but continue the ills they of Europe long to escape.

Of course, America is interested in the Genoa Conference. It can say nothing about it officially, but every one, from the President down, knows the importance of that gathering. Every intelligent American knows that the Genoa Conference is a natural step following the meetings in Washington, a step toward the world conference that is sure to follow. Mr. Lloyd-George is convinced that if they can set their political house in order in Europe America will not merely come in, but come in gladly. He said: "A distinguished citizen of this city once upon a time discovered America; and, as Genoa in the past discovered America to Europe, I am hopeful that Genoa once more will render another immortal service to humanity by rediscovering Europe to America." The stern fact here seems to be that the United States will not cancel Europe's debt nor open her vaults without guarantees of security. Genoa will discover Europe to America if only the conference will show Europe capable of sensing and admitting her foolishness.

It is not reasonable to expect that the League of Nations will play any considerable part at Genoa. Mr. Lloyd-George has suggested that the principle of the covenant will have to be extended to Russia, to the end that she shall undertake not to attack her neighbors, and that her neighbors must undertake a corresponding obligation not to attack Russia. But he added, "The only difference would be that I do not think we could undertake the responsibility we have under clause 10 of the League of Nations of defending her frontiers if they are attacked." Such a statement, it seems to us, is a repudiation of the League. But the very Genoa Conference is itself a more pointed repudiation. This is to the credit side of the conference, for, as in the case of the Washington Conference, the way may be left open for those normal, healing, international processes peculiar only to voluntary gatherings of States seeking a peace of justice under laws voluntarily set up to be voluntarily obeyed.

THE PLOT THICKENS

CAN EUROPE attend to her own business? That is the question before the world. There are evidences that the attempt to straighten out her affairs by means of a conference at Genoa is to end in a mess. At the moment there appear to be three ententes tugging disrespectfully at each other's hair—the Russo-German bloc, the big powers with their satellites, and certain of the neutrals.

The Germans and the Russians broke into the picture Easter Sunday with a treaty calculated to establish a full reciprocity between them. It is proposed to resume

as between themselves regular diplomatic relations, to cancel all indemnity claims growing out of the war, and to forgive the prewar debts, together with the claims growing out of the Russian nationalization of German property. In other words, Germany is to enjoy a most favored nation arrangement under reciprocal relations with Russia. It is an application of the principle of mutual cancellation of obligations as between Germany and Russia, an economic rapprochement, a limited zollverein.

Theoretically, this is a natural and hopeful step. Practically it is most embarrassing. In the first place, it is no compliment to the leadership of Mr. Lloyd-George. It may end in the break-up of the conference and the end of the Lloyd-George dynasty. The place and manner of the coup are not calculated to promote harmony. The treaty has been under consideration for many weeks, but its announcement at Genoa has upset the carefully assembled machinery. Then, too, the Russians have not shown themselves to be as meek as had been anticipated. They are making demands. They have claims against the Allies for services rendered, for damages due to the operations of Koltchak, Denikin, Wrangel, and the blockade. A correspondent of the *New York Times* says that Russia expects twenty billion gold rubles from the Allies for money which she spent to help the Allies during the first three years of the war. Furthermore, she wants thirty-five billion gold rubles because of damages due to intervention and blockade. Maxim Litvinoff, of the Russian delegation, says that if Russia is paid these amounts she will recognize her prewar debts. He went on to say, "The Allies claim sixty-five billion gold francs from us. We claim one hundred twenty-five billion gold francs. We cannot make peace and go back with less than twenty billion gold francs." That is saucy language. It doesn't ease the situation materially for Dr. Rathenau, the German Foreign Minister, to assure his fellow-confererees that the treaty does not interfere in the relations of Russia and Germany with any other State.

Adding to the mess, secret diplomacy seems to be getting in some deadly work at Genoa. Germany has resented the private conferences to which she was not invited. She saw clearly that Genoa had little to offer to her; hence, the treaty with Russia. It is not difficult to understand why Lloyd-George considers the Russo-German treaty as a "serious and unintelligible breach of the spirit" of the Genoa Conference.

The big powers—England, France, Italy, Japan, and Belgium—together with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia, Rumania, and Portugal, have been stirred to bitterness because of the Russo-German deal. They don't like it at all. Under date of April 18, these powers wrote

a note to the German delegation accusing them of violating the principles on which the conference is based. They threaten to exclude the Germans from discussions relating to arrangements between the Allies and Russia.

Aside from the spirit with which Russia and Germany have gone about their work, and the possibilities of a secret military alliance, there is little in the treaty to which objection has been or can be raised. There is some point to Dr. Rathenau's remark that "the treaty is such as all treaties ought to be, and such as I hope all peace treaties will be—a mutual resignation of claims and forgetting of the past."

In the meantime the neutral countries, headed by Denmark, have awakened to the fact that they are practically eliminated from the conference. Naturally, they are not pleased; but, adding to the general mess, they are holding special meetings of their own and showing their own feelings by protesting against Germany's exclusion from Russian affairs "without a full vote of the conference."

Of course, the question of most vital concern just now, the question which affects the future of every nation is, Is Genoa to witness the birth of a pan-Europa or the rebirth of the system of a balance of powers? Just now it looks like an alignment of England, France, and Italy against Germany and Russia. If that be the outcome of Genoa, our old world will be in a mess indeed.

SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES

SOME of the difficulties confronting our old world are staggering even to our imaginations. The Reparations Commission, confronted by Germany's request for a moratorium, has imposed terms which have aroused anger and resentment in Berlin. These terms threatened for a time the fall of the Wirth Cabinet. The terms propose in case of default that the penalties provided for in the Versailles Treaty shall be enforced. They provide that this year's payment shall be 720,000,000 gold marks in cash and 1,450,000,000 gold marks in goods, terms which were fixed at Cannes. They provide further that cash payments are to be made the fifteenth of each month from April to October, inclusive, in amounts of 50,000,000 gold marks, and for November and December the amounts shall be 60,000,000. They also lay down measures which Germany must take for the reform of her budget. It is demanded that Germany shall prepare and put into effect before May 31 a taxation program which will give an additional revenue of 60,000,000,000 paper marks. One wonders what can have become of the sovereignty of Germany.

On the top of this difficult situation, we are told that